

Как уже отмечено, диалектный материал В. К. Кельмаков анализировал в диахроническом аспекте. Многие явления удмуртского языка интерпретированы по-новому. Выводы автора в абсолютном большинстве случаев аргументированы и убедительны. Обследование периферийных говоров может быть плодотворно только в свете данных этнической истории. В такой плоскости и построена рецензируемая диссертация.

В науке до сих пор не было определенного мнения о том, удмурты правобережья р. Вятки представляют собой автохтонное население этих краев или являются переселенцами из-за р. Вятки. В результате изучения истории и языка кукморских удмуртов В. К. Кельмаков пришел к убеждению, что в формировании кукморских удмуртов участвовали как чепецкие, так и летописные *ары*, которые уже в середине XII в. были известны в качестве северных соседей волжских булгар. Основное удмуртское население правобережья р. Вятки и района Пьяный Бор — Елабуга в X—XII вв. было вынуждено отступить под натиском булгар в более северные лесные районы, а часть осталась. Позднее удмурты правобережья р. Вятки оказались в составе Казанского ханства. С середины XVI в. с падением татаро-монгольского ига юго-западные удмурты были присоединены к русскому государству. По данным актов и грамот XVII в. население Вятского правобережья в тот период составляли марийцы, чуваша, удмурты и татары. Впоследствии большая часть марийцев, чувашей и удмуртов отатарилась. Процесс ассимиляции удмуртов татарами шел довольно интенсивно еще в XIX и начале XX вв. и был

связан с принятием удмуртами-язычникама магометанства. Татары оказали большое влияние на культуру, быт и язык и той части удмуртов, которая не приняла ислам (стр. 17 и далее). Основываясь на данных казанского диалекта, еще Б. Мункачи отметил, что из финно-угорских языков удмуртский испытал наиболее сильное тюркское влияние. Ощущается влияние тюркских языков (в частности татарского) на юго-западные диалекты удмуртского языка не только в области лексики, но и в области фонетики и морфологии. Многие факты тюркизмов блестяще описаны В. К. Кельмаковым. По мнению рецензента, И. С. Галкин прав в том, что ряд древних явлений кукморского диалекта возник под влиянием языка волжских булгар, подобного первоначальной основе бесермянского диалекта. Данные языка бесермян показывают, что многие явления кукморского диалекта созвучны с бесермянскими.

Удмуртские говоры на северо-востоке Татарской АССР с древних времен развивались и развиваются в настоящее время изолированно от других говоров и диалектов удмуртского языка, поэтому в них сохранилось много древнеудмуртских черт и вместе с тем выработались специфические особенности независимо и без влияния других диалектов, что представляет большой интерес как для исследователей истории пермских языков, так и для финно-угроведения в целом. Прекрасно выполненная работа В. К. Кельмакова может служить образцом для исследователей диалектов.

Т. И. ТЕПЛЯШИНА (Москва)

<https://doi.org/10.3176/lu.1971.2.13>

#### A DOCUMENTARY FILM ABOUT THE ETHNIC HISTORY, FOLKLORE AND CUSTOMS OF THE FINNO-UGRIC PEOPLES

At the Third International Congress of Fenno-Ugrists in Tallinn in August 1970, the Studio "Tallinnfilm" showed the first completed parts of a colour documentary film produced as an investigation into the ethnic history of the peoples whose tongue belongs to the Fenno-Ugric family of languages. The film excerpts lead the spectator to the very source of these

languages, the supposed original abode of the Fenno-Ugrians on the upper reaches of the Yenisei, retracing their ancient migration routes to the shores of the Baltic Sea. A skilfully directed camera eye and a tape-recorder have succeeded in catching many fascinating and unique aspects of the material culture, folklore and customs of the Fenno-Ugric and Samoyedic peoples

inhabiting the Soviet Union — the Nenets, Khants, Komis, Maris and Karelians, thus helping at the same time to shed some light on our past. For technical reasons the excerpts shown were without sound, nevertheless they were viewed with the greatest interest. This is easy to understand, considering the limitations imposed on specialists in Fenno-Ugric lore by immense distances and difficulties of access in establishing contacts with many of those peoples whose language as well as material culture is the object of their research work.

Before turning to the discussion of the film I should like to associate myself with the conviction expressed at the Congress by Dr. B. Korompay (Budapest) that present-day conditions are particularly favourable to the pursuit of comparative studies in Fenno-Ugric lore. The vast region inhabited by peoples of Fenno-Ugric stock, stretching from the Baltic to the Sayan ranges and constituting in places even today as it were an open-air museum for Fenno-Ugric ethnologists (this is confirmed by the film under discussion), is a research field offering an abundance of new opportunities. There is, moreover, little doubt that Dr. Korompay was taking a realistic view of the situation when he called attention to Estonian scholars as prospective intermediaries in securing livelier collaboration between Soviet research workers on the one hand and those of Hungary, Finland and the Scandinavian countries on the other.

The colour documentary film which was completed at the end of the year has been given the conditional title "Hyperboreae"<sup>1</sup> by its script writer and producer Lennart Meri. Meri is known beyond the boundaries of Estonia as a tireless explorer and author of many travel books. Paul Ariste, a prominent Fenno-Ugrist of the Soviet Union, acted as the principal scientific adviser of the film. The camera-man was S. Rahomägi. The fifty-minute film (1500 metres) is available in a popular Russian version; there is also a more technical Estonian version under the title "The Waterfowl People". Apart from Meri's com-

mentary the entire sound background is genuine, including not only folk music, but also other rhythmic sounds typical in the life of the peoples studied in this film. The limited length of the film restricted the makers to using only a small part of the collected material which amounted to a total of 10 000 metres of exposed film and six to seven hours of tape-recordings of Samoyed (Nenets and Kamassian), Khant, Komi, Mari and Karelian folk-songs and samples of spoken language. There is no need to further advertise the value for every Fenno-Ugrist of this unused material which is preserved in the film and tape archives of "Tallinnfilm".

Although "The Waterfowl People" is Lennart Meri's first work of this kind, it is a great achievement. Valuable previous experience gained during expeditions to inaccessible places in Siberia and the northern shores of the Pacific Ocean have no doubt contributed in a large measure toward the realization and success of the film. Almost inconceivable effort and ingenuity were needed on the part of the film crew to secure the transportation of essential equipment to the film sites and objects hundreds of kilometres from main roads; or the skill and tact that had to be shown in the relations with local inhabitants to be able to shoot and record such rites as the bear funeral wake of the Khants (from which outsiders are usually excluded), the marriage ceremonies or the *aga-parjam* prayer by the wizard in the sacred grove. The makers of the film have rendered a real service in having filmed and perpetuated the voice of Klavdia Plotnikova, the last surviving speaker of the Kamassian language, who is living in the hamlet of Abalakovo high up in the Sayan mountains. These shots serve as an introduction to the film devoted to ancient rites, popular arts, folk-song, village architecture, tools and implements, characteristic handicrafts and ways of subsistence of the Uralic peoples, whose ancient lore still survives but is in full retreat before the advance of present-day civilization and assimilation.

Thanks to a well-planned script the film is not confined to a superficial registration of phenomena. Throughout we are guided by the author's constructive thinking, his

<sup>1</sup> "Veelinnurahvas" (Estonian version, — "The Waterfowl People"); "За северным ветром" (Russian version, — "Behind the North Wind", i.e. "Hyperboreae"); a 1970 "Tallinnfilm" production, 35 mm, Sovcolor.

determination to find connecting links in the seemingly bewildering variety of phenomena, to find a barely traceable link between, for instance, a Nenets perch hut, or the perch barn of the Khants and Komis, and Karelian farmhouses. For example, the Nenets kindle the fire in their perch huts, opposite the entrance and beside the sacred pole, while the hearth of a Karelian living-room looks towards the entrance stairway and there, too, stands a pole by the fireplace. In the perch hut the side to the left of the hearth is reserved for men, the right side for women, and in a like manner the Karelian living-room is divided by the dining table into a men's half (*perä*) to the left of the hearth and a women's half (*soppi*) to the right. Such connections are made perhaps often through intuition on the part of Meri, or through a romantic poetic vision rather than illustrating established facts in the field of Fenno-Ugric scholarship. It is mainly in this, however, that I see the principal charm and value of Meri's film: it is a challenge to scholars and a provocation which should give rise to further research. At the same time it is a poetic presentation of the life of a people, symbolised by the waterfowl, the mythical waterfowl, found in Karelian rock carvings and as an ornamental motif in folk art of these peoples, and thus seen as the originator of life in the mud of the primeval sea-bed.

Captivating stills depict the Sayan Mountains, the erection of a perch hut, a Nenets

camp, the capture of reindeer, Khant fishing techniques, the emptying of basket-traps, the "sewing together" of a boat, the bear funeral feast, a Komi trapper on his hunting trip, Mari marriage customs, the nature of Karelia, rural architecture, laying out fishing-nets in a lake, and, in conclusion, a few glimpses of the giant folk-dance festival in Tallinn. Good use is made of the resources of colour film to draw attention to the popular arts (leather mosaic of the Nenets, the ornamented birch-bark utensils of the Khants, folk-dresses and embroideries of the Maris, Karelian petroglyphs, ornamental decorations of living-rooms, etc.). Whatever we see in the film — to borrow a few words from the film's commentary — was created by people who rarely ate bread without an addition of pine-bark and who were almost never able to enjoy a sufficient amount of sleep. And yet they sacrificed their subsistence to their sense of beauty devoting ten times more effort and care to its creation.

"The Waterfowl People" as a whole tends to refute the thesis that has spread of late in Fenno-Ugric ethnology according to which we may indeed speak of a Fenno-Ugric parent language, but not of a common parent culture. It may be safely assumed that comparative Fenno-Ugric ethnology has not yet said its last word on this matter, and that an attractive field of research still awaits study.

HELDUR NIIT (Tallinn)